

## Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 SS-15 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /037 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:JFTEFFT:EK

APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB

AF:TWSEELYE

S: HCOLLUMS

S/S:R. PERITO

IO:SWLEWIS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 290700 TOSEC 310189

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, SF, WA

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: UNGA SPEECH ON NAMIBIA

(S/S NO.7624574 )

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM IO-LEWIS AND AF-SEELYE, ACTING  
THROUGH P-HABIB

1. PROBLEM:

YOU ASKED IN SECTO 31016 THAT UE SHARPEN TH- DRAFT UNGA  
SPEECH ON NAMIBIA IN A NUMBER OF RESPECTS AND REDRAFT  
THE LAST PARAGRAPH. A REDRAFT FOLLOWS WITH MAJOR  
CHANGES PER YOUR INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPHS  
5, 6 AND 8. WE NEED YOUR APPROVAL OF THE TEXT FOR DELIVERY  
ON WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 1.

2. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON NAMIBIA FOR  
DELIVERY IN THE UNGA FOURTH COMMITTEE.

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APPROVE:-----DISAPPROVE:-----

3. DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:JFTEFFT; APPROVED BY IO;SWLEWIS;  
CLEARED BY AF:TWSEELYE, S: HCOLLUMS

FOLLOWING IS DRAFT STATEMENT:

1. THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN CRUCIAL FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT HAS ALSO BEEN AN IMPORTANT YEAR IN THE RELATIONS OF MY COUNTRY WITH THAT REGION OF THE WORLD. AS MEMBERS OF THIS ASSEMBLY KNOW, SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER LAUNCHED A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE IN LUSAKA IN APRIL TO ENCOURAGE POSITIVE CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE OFFERED TO ASSIST THE NATIONS OF THE REGION TO NEGOTIATE SOLUTIONS TO THE DANGEROUS PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. AS A RESULT OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE FRONT-LINE STATES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA, CONSIDERATION OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM HAS NOW SHIFTED TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE IN GENEVA. WHILE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED, AND WE BY NO MEANS WISH TO DIMINISH THE SERIOUSNESS OF THESE PROBLEMS, THE IMPORTANT FACT IS THAT INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA ARE CLOSER TODAY AS A RESULT OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH

EFFORTS THAN MANY WOULD HAVE EXPECTED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR.

2. THE PAST YEAR HAS ALSO WITNESSED EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS TO BRING THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE A CONCERTED AND VIGOROUS EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE INTERESTED PARTIES TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA BY NEGOTIATIONS AND NOT BLOODSHED. ALTHOUGH FORMAL TALKS HAVE NOT YET BEGUN, PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE AND OUR DIPLOMATIC CONSULTATIONS CONTINUE. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS DEDICATED TO BRINGING TO AN END THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA BY SOUTH AFRICA AND TO HELPING BRING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA AS A SINGLE UNITARY STATE. SECRETARY KISSINGER OUTLINED THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IN HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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SPEECH TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 30. HE STRESSED THAT THE UNITED STATES FAVORED THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

-- INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA WITHIN A FIXED SHORT TIME LIMIT;

-- THE CALLING OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AT A

NEUTRAL LOCATION UNDER THE UN AEGIS; AND

-- THE PARTICIPATION IN THAT CONFERENCE OF ALL  
AUTHENTIC NATIONAL FORCES INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY SWAPO.

3. IN A MEETING THE DAY BEFORE THIS SPEECH, THE SECRETARY  
UNDERLINED TO MR. SAM NUJOMA, THE PRESIDENT OF SWAPO, THE  
IMPORTANCE WHICH THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES TO THE  
PARTICIPATION OF SWAPO.

4. SWAPO MUST HAVE A CENTRAL ROLE IN ANY CONFERENCE ON  
NAMIBIA. BUT WE MUST ALSO BE REALISTIC. THERE ARE  
OTHER GENUINE INTERESTS AND VOICES WHICH MUST BE HEARD  
ON THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY. THE UNITED STATES  
BELIEVES THAT THE PLACE TO RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
THE PARTIES TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IS THE CONFERENCE  
TABLE. WE WILL EXERT EVERY EFFORT TO BRING THE PARTIES  
TO UNDERTAKE A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, CANDOR REQUIRES ME TO STATE THAT  
THERE ARE GOVERNMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO APPEAR DETER-  
MINED TO RAISE BARRIERS TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND TO  
CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH IT WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY  
DIFFICULT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO ASSIST THE PARTIES.  
DEMAGOGUERY HAS BEEN EMPLOYED AND UNFOUNDED ALLEGATIONS  
HAVE BEEN PROPAGATED, CLEARLY INTENDED TO DIMINISH THE  
CHANCES OF BRINGING ABOUT THE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHICH  
THIS ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN SEEKING. THERE ARE ALSO,  
UNFORTUNATELY, THOSE WHO, WHILE PROPOSING NO CONSTRUCTIVE  
SOLUTIONS OF THEIR OWN, SEEK THROUGH THEIR WORDS AND  
ACTIONS TO IMPEDE THE EFFORTS OF OTHERS.

6. THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN ABSURD STORIES IN THE WORLD  
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PRESS ABOUT ALLEGED UNITED STATES POLICY ON NAMIBIA.  
FABRICATED ACCUSATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE THAT THE UNITED  
STATES PLANS TO CREATE AN ARMY IN NAMIBIA AND THAT THE  
UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY CHOSEN A CANDIDATE TO LEAD AN  
INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. THERE IS NOT A SHRED OF TRUTH IN  
EITHER OF THESE ACCUSATIONS. THE OBJECT OF THESE ATTACKS  
CAN ONLY BE TO DISCREDIT EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED  
SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, WE WILL NOT BE DETERRED IN OUR  
SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL AND REALISTIC PATH TO GENUINE  
FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA.

7. MR. PRESIDENT, THERE ARE SEVERAL OTHER ASPECTS OF MY  
GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TOWARD NAMIBIA WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO  
BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION:

-- IN ADDITION TO THE MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT WHICH

THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE DURING THE PAST YEAR, MY GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO BEEN ACTIVE IN PROVIDING EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO YOUNG NAMIBIANS. IN THE PAST YEAR THE UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED \$300,000 FOR THE TRAINING OF NAMIBIAN STUDENTS TO HELP PREPARE THEM TO ASSUME THE OBLIGATIONS OF BUILDING AND ADMINISTERING AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. THE UNITED STATES HAS CONTRIBUTED \$250,000 TO THE UN INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA IN LUSAKA AND \$50,000 TO THE UN EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAM FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA, SPECIALLY EARMARKED FOR NAMIBIANS. THESE CONTRIBUTIONS

ALSO REFLECT THE IMPORTANCE THE UNITED STATES PLACES IN THE UN AS THE LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY FOR NAMIBIA.

-- THE UNITED STATES ALSO REMAINS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED OVER THE APPLICATION IN THE TERRITORY OF SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION. WE HAVE PROTESTED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE TERRORISM ACT IN NAMIBIA. IN MAY WE PROTESTED AGAINST A PARTICULAR APPLICATION OF THE ACT AGAINST FOUR NAMIBIANS, TWO OF WHOM WERE SENTENCED TO DEATH.

8. IN CONCLUSION, MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO REAFFIRM THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO ACHIEVING  
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SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. OUR SUPPORT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES REMAINS AS STRONG TODAY AS ANY TIME IN THE PAST YEARS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORY. THE UNITED STATES HAS WORKED HARD TO ADVANCE THE PROCESS LEADING TO NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE; ACTIONS TO IMPEDE OUR EFFORTS DO NOT HELP THIS PROCESS. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY URGES ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED WITH NAMIBIA TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES AND WORK OUT AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE THE TRANSITION TO A FREE AND INDEPENDENT NATION. AS SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID ON SEPTEMBER 30, THE UNITED STATES "PLEDGES OUR CONTINUED SOLICITUDE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA SO THAT IT MAY, IN THE END, BE A PROUD ACHIEVEMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND A SYMBOL OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION."

9. DRAFTED BY: JFTEFFT  
CLEARED BY: AF:TWSEELYE, S:HCOLLUMS, IO:SWLEWIS

ROBINSON

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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